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Mass. and Rhode Island,  
discrimination...

[Washington]

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## MASSACHUSETTS AND RHODE ISLAND.

### Discrimination Against Foreign-Born Citizens.

#### COMPULSORY VOTING WITH EMPLOYERS.

*Extracts from Reports Nos. 572 and 427, made to the United States Senate in April and May, 1880, by Select Committee of which Senator Wallace, of Pennsylvania, was Chairman.*

Your special committee to inquire into alleged frauds in the recent elections was directed to inquire and report to the Senate concerning the denial or abridgment of the right of suffrage to citizens of the United States, and now reports the results of its labors concerning the abridgment of suffrage of citizens of the United States by the State of Rhode Island.

The distinction herein made between the rights of native-born and foreign-born citizens to vote is so broad and well marked, that at the outset of our inquiry the attention of your committee was arrested by it as an anomaly in the American system, and we have given it careful examination and thought.

The qualifications imposed by the State of Rhode Island, prior to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, and which were continued until the adoption of the present constitution of Rhode Island, were not *unequal* in character, as they are now.

It was required a voter should be a land owner and a free man, regardless of his nativity—both native-born and naturalized citizens were placed upon the same level, and were required to have the same qualifications, and no such distinctions prevailed in any State or county at that time. Under the present constitution of Rhode Island a discrimination is made, and one class of citizens (naturalized) are required to possess a qualification that is not required of native-born citizens, and this additional qualification amounts to disfranchisement.

We examined a large number of witnesses to ascertain, as nearly as possible, to what extent this disfranchisement of foreign-born citizens had been carried in that State. This testimony is now reported to the Senate, and an abstract of it is appended to this report.

The testimony upon the subject of the number of persons deprived of the right of suffrage by the property qualifications imposed upon foreign-born citizens by the constitution and laws of Rhode Island is somewhat conflicting, various estimates being made by different witnesses, ranging from 3,000 to 25,000. Dr. Snow, the superintendent of the census of Rhode Island, of 1875, says that he should estimate it at from 2,000 to 5,000, but that it is more guess-work, and that it is possible that from 20,000 to 25,000 foreign-born citizens of Rhode Island might be qualified to vote if naturalized, the number who are reported in the census as qualified being only 5,364. Carl W. Eustis, an intelligent Republican foreign-born citizen, gives still another estimate, after a careful examination, and places the number of disfranchised foreign-born citizens at not less than 10,000 to 15,000. His judgment was based upon careful inquiry, and his position as a journalist fitted him to judge.

The advocates of the doctrine embodied in the constitution of Rhode Island of 1842, "that those who own the country ought to govern the country," did not dream in the days in which they combatted for their peculiar system, that

a discrimination was to be made in the rule of suffrage between the native-born citizen, white or black, on the one hand, and the foreign-born citizen on the other. Their teaching was placed upon the high ground that every voter ought to possess the evidence of his fitness to exercise the function of suffrage, and that the possession of land was the safest standard of that fitness. How lamentably this theory has failed, in the light of the testimony taken by your committee. If the rule were, as those who created and defended it intended, equal in its disfranchisement as well as in its enfranchisement, there would be no room to complain of the unjust discrimination that exists.

In the light of the testimony taken by the committee, the discrepancy between the voting population of Massachusetts and Rhode Island is readily accounted for. It is the result of the practical denial of suffrage to citizens of the United States of foreign birth, and of impediments to the exercise of the elective franchise by poor natives, under constitutional provisions, executed under rigid registry laws.

The importance of this question may be further evident when we recollect that the vote of the electoral college is based upon the representation of the States in the Senate and House of Representatives. From the figures given by witnesses brought before the committee it is possible that, under the fourteenth amendment and the act of 1872, Rhode Island might rightfully have been deprived of one Representative in the House of Representatives of the Forty-fourth Congress, and that her additional vote in the electoral college thus secured decided the question of the Presidency in 1877, the vote as returned by electoral commission being 185 to 184, and it might again decide it.

The character of the registry laws of Rhode Island, as adding to the disqualifications of those who own no real-estate, and throwing still further restrictions around the right of suffrage, was the subject of testimony before your committee. All native voters who own no real-estate must register personally in December and pay their poll tax of \$1 in January, or they are disqualified from voting during that year. This operates to disqualify very many persons, and tends largely to corruption among this class of voters. Dr. Snow, the superintendent of the census, and several other witnesses, testified that the effect of this restricted suffrage, and the registry law, is to bring about the payment of money by the party leaders and candidates as an inducement for the voters to vote, and to discourage them from voting when those payments are not made. The truth is, that payment of taxes, as a prerequisite to exercising the right of suffrage, is a most vicious rule, wherever it exists. It invariably tends to corrupt practices, and to debase the voters.

Restricted suffrage, registry taxes upon poor men alone, statutory closing of the polls at sunset, instead of eight o'clock, as formerly, by which the operatives in the mills are prevented from voting, and the compulsory payment of the registry tax ten months prior to the general election in a Presidential year, cause great complaints upon the part of the poor men and foreign-born citizens in Rhode Island; and to these features of her laws many intelligent witnesses ascribe the small percentage of voters among her people and the large amount of corrupt practices in the elections of the State. A foreign-born soldier, breveted a major for gallantry, said, under oath: "I have never qualified myself to vote, for the reason that I consider the principle wrong; that suffrage ought to be based on manhood, and not on real-estate; and that no qualification was required for negroes, their color being sufficient passport, provided they vote right." In reply to the question, what action the Government of the United States could take to remove the disqualifying features of the State constitution, he said, "that by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the Constitution of the United States, universal suffrage was forced upon the South, and that the rule ought to work just as well on the North." Another foreign-born soldier, breveted at Missionary Ridge as lieutenant-colonel, testified that he had tried to get many foreigners to become naturalized, telling them that in time they would become voters, but they would not do so, as they declared they would feel more degraded in becoming citizens of the United States and not having the privilege of voting, than they felt that they were without naturalization; he said that was his own feeling, and although he owned no real-estate now, but did when he voted, he felt that one who had

for so long been a soldier in the service of the country ought not to need any such qualification.

The effect of the registry tax is described thus:

The difficulty here is this: There is a particular period in the year within which the men who pay this one dollar registry-tax must be registered, and if not registered within that time are denied the opportunity to vote, because they cannot register at any other time during the year, even though they pay their tax. If, therefore, a question such as the one of the repeal of the property clause upon which they would like to vote is submitted to the people at a time during the year, before the period again comes around within which they can be registered, they are unable to qualify themselves for voting. Furthermore, a very large part of our naturalized population are men who work in the mills, and nearly all the mills of the State are controlled by the old-fashioned politicians. Those men take their help to the polls; their officers and everything else. I have no doubt that hundreds and thousands of men in this State, from the nature of our laws and the nature of the politicians here, are compelled to vote in that way.

Ex-Congressman Davis testified upon the subject of the corrupt use of money in elections, that it was the result of restricted suffrage, and that wealth and power were in absolute control of the State. He said, also:

Money is all-powerful. It has been exercised over and over again in such quantities of money as to overwhelm almost the public sentiment, the natural sentiment of the State. Senators have been elected thus, and Representatives. No State in the Union has had so large an outpouring of wealth upon it since 1860, and for a considerable period before that, as had Rhode Island. It is a small State, and power takes possession of it. There were other influences, to be sure; concentrated influences. When we say "publicly used," we do not mean to say that men go to the corners of the streets and use it there, but that its use has been organized. I speak of men who at election time were men would take a ticket and receive a certain sum of money for it, particularly when an election for Senator was pending; and this has been done upon a large scale.

Another intelligent witness said:

I suppose that that class in this State called our registry voters, that is to say, those who have no visible property to be taxed, and consequently to become qualified to vote must pay a dollar tax, constitute probably at least one-fourth of the voting population of the State, or would if they were qualified. In the division of parties this class has been made up largely of those of the Democratic faith. Consequently the Democratic party to a larger extent, and the opposite party to a smaller degree, have had to raise a certain amount of money as the first step in a campaign in order to pay the registry taxes of these men. Both parties fell into the practice resulting from these men not paying their taxes and depending on their party friends to pay their taxes for them, and money has been raised by both parties to pay these preliminary taxes. With the Democratic party in this State, the condition was that they would have no party organization scarcely, unless they could find some man who had interest enough in their success to pay largely in order to qualify men to vote. That, I say, has had the effect to introduce money. There is no question about it, money has been the great power in almost every contested election in this State.

The owner of real estate gets upon the registry of voters by virtue of his real estate. The native born, the owner of personality, pays his taxes of over one dollar, and thus he gets upon the registry; but the native who owns no taxable property must personally register himself and pay his taxes, or he cannot vote. The foreign-born citizen may own personality, but cannot vote unless he owns real estate, and of course he cannot get upon the registry. If registry taxes for one year are not paid, the constitution forbids the vote until the arrears for two years are paid up.

It is this explanation of the fact proved in this testimony that out of 42,741 voters shown by the census of 1875 to be in the State and qualified to vote, but 26,627 actually did vote in the hotly-contested Presidential election of 1876. Sixteen thousand one hundred and fourteen voters, or about three-eighths of the whole voting population, actually abstained from voting, if these figures be true. No such percentage of non-voters is found anywhere, either North or South, in that election. In the great central belt of States north, over 90 per cent. of the whole vote therein was polled at that election, whilst in Rhode Island but about 62 per cent. finds its way to the polls. If the voters are there this fact is a pregnant one in its bearing upon the election laws and their administration in the State.

The testimony taken by the committee at Providence discloses many discriminations by the laws of Rhode Island, and the practices carried out there, against foreign-born citizens of the United States and of Rhode Island.

Naturalized citizens may own any amount of personal property, and pay

Witnesses testify that a minority of her people has ruled Rhode Island for more than fifteen years past, and that the opposition to the extension of suf

The many efforts which have been made to amend the constitution of the State in respect have always failed, merely because of the provisions of the existing constitution on the subject of amendments thereof. The amendments must be proposed and adopted by the general assembly; then published with the names of the members voting for and against the same; then approved by the succeeding general assembly; then, if approved, submitted to the people for ratification and adoption, which requires not a majority, but three-fourths of those voting, for their valid adoption.

In 1864 an amendment granting to naturalized citizens who have been in the military service of the United States and honorably discharged the right to vote without the property qualification, was submitted to the people; 3,174 voted for it and 1,578 voted against it. It was rejected, although a majority voted for it. Again, in 1876, a like amendment was proposed and rejected for want of three-fifths, although a majority voted for it. The vote stood 11,038 for and 10,950 against it. This vote was taken at the Presidential election, and the number voting affirmatively was much greater than the vote polled for the Tilden electors.

Your committee is decided, in its conviction that this discrimination by the constitution of Rhode Island against foreign-born citizens is unjust, unwise, and anti-republican. It is in direct antagonism to the great principle of equality before the law, as well as of the central idea of a Democratic republic. It is a law that the people who rule and ought to rule, and not an oligarchy or a favored few. Nativity, creed, or property ought not to be made the ground of discrimination against the citizen when once he has taken upon himself the duties of citizenship, and many of the cases disclosed in this testimony are, in our view, peculiarly hard in their effect upon the foreign-born soldier; but we are equally decided that the only remedy for the wrong to the citizen is with the State, by an amendment of its constitution, or by an amendment of the Constitution of the United States. The State may be made to suffer the decrease of its representation in Congress as a penalty for the deprivation of this right to her citizens, under the provisions of the 14th amendment of the Constitution of the United States; but this does not give the ballot to the citizen.

The average vote to the Congressional district in Rhode Island of the combined Democrat and Republican candidates was only 3,381 in 1874, whilst in the remainder of New England it was 20,359 in the Congressional district; and while Connecticut in the Presidential contest polled 30,539 votes in each of her Congressional districts, Rhode Island polled but 13,313 votes to choose a Congressman.

In the thirteen Southern States, exclusive of Alabama, and Texas, the average total vote in each Congressional district in 1874 was 20,404, whilst in Rhode Island it was 3,381.

Florida and Rhode Island have each two Congressmen. The population of the former in 1870 was 187,748, of the latter 217,353; yet in the Presidential election in 1872 Florida polled 33,150 votes, or one to every five and a third, whilst Rhode Island polled but 18,994, or one to every eleven and a half. In 1874 Florida polled a total of 46,772 votes, and Rhode Island but 25,027.

At the Congressional elections the comparison is as follows: In each Congressional district the average vote in—

States.	1872.	1874.	1875.	1878.
Rhode Island.....	9,477	3,381	15,212	9,178
Florida.....	16,005	17,009	23,080	15,649
South Carolina.....	19,056	28,062	26,553	34,429
Pennsylvania.....	29,770	20,669	27,798	24,281

A contrast of the population and the votes polled in the cities of Philadelphia and Providence in 1876 shows the same result.

The population in Philadelphia in 1875 was 817,448; the vote polled in 1876 was 139,329, or one for every 5.87 of her people.

The population of Providence by the census of 1875 was 100,675; the vote polled in 1876 was 9,118, or one for every 11 of her people.

Both are manufacturing cities, both are under registry laws, and both have payment of taxes as a prerequisite for voting. Pennsylvania has no real-estate qualification and no discrimination against foreign-born citizens. Rhode Island has both.

Your committee reports that the right of suffrage to foreign-born citizens of the United States is abridged by the constitution and laws of Rhode Island.

#### EMPLOYEES.

In pursuing another duty enjoined by the senate of Rhode Island this subject of controlling the votes of employees by the employers, through fear of loss of work was incidentally examined.

At Westerly, in the southwest part of the State, there are two corporations known as the New England Granite Company and the Smith Granite Company. They employed in 1876 about 150 men in getting out and preparing granite. Direct influence was brought to bear upon these employees about a week before the Presidential election of 1876 by these corporations, issuing a hand-bill and circulating it where the men worked, which stated that the election of Mr. Tilden would be a great injury to their business, and by the concluding paragraph which declared they would secure their own interest by voting against Mr. Tilden. The circular was in these words:

#### TO ALL VOTERS

Employed by the

N. E. GRANITE WORKS, AND THE SMITH GRANITE CO.

Having become fully convinced that the election of Samuel J. Tilden and a Democratic Congress, on the 7th of November, will be a great injury to our business, and will also be a National Calamity, we do most earnestly advise all VOTERS IN OUR EMPLOY to vote the Republican Ticket, more especially for a Republican Member of Congress. You will, by so doing, secure your own interest, our interest, and the interest of your country.

THE N. E. GRANITE WORKS.

THE SMITH GRANITE CO.

The plain implication from the language here used is that the injury to the business of the corporation would result in loss of employment to the workmen, and it undoubtedly had the effect to intimidate voters.

It was shown that at Hope Village in the Congressional election the Republicans used a colored ballot of a very distinctly marked color, and that the Democratic ballot was plain white. At that time there were a number of Democrats employed in the works who attended Democratic meetings and desired to vote that ticket, but when these men came to vote on election day, men in the employ of the Hope Manufacturing Company stood at the ballot-box and watched the ballots all day. Some of these Democrats went home without voting, and others declared that they did not dare to vote.

At Woonsocket there are seven or eight large manufacturing establishments usually operating as corporations. They employ many workmen, a majority of whom are of foreign birth, and among the employees are many whose political opinions are Democratic. It was shown that at almost every election for years these men voted under the eye of their employers' agents who were Republicans, and in very many cases under circumstances showing intimidation and fear of loss of work.

"The representatives of the manufacturers of Woonsocket are chiefly Republicans. The owners are not residents of Woonsocket, but of Providence and other places; but their agents in Woonsocket, as a general thing, and with but one exception, are Republicans. On the day of election they are very active, exceedingly active, in getting in the voters who work at their establishments. They are sometimes carried to the polls in their own private carriages, and sometimes in carriages hired by the party. They are usually met at the entrance to the hall by men in the employ of these corporations, who will present the voters, as they are marched in, with ballots. They are followed, in many cases, from the entrance to the hall to the ballot-box, and watched until the ballot is seen to be deposited in the ballot-box, so that there may be no opportunity for them to change their ballots and take others."

One witness described the acts which he thought amounted to intimidation, in this language:

"I have known men employed in the Woonsocket machine shop to be marched up, in the hall, in squads by a man named Chase, who had some position there—I do not know whether it was that of engineer or what it was—and compelled to hold their hands up with the ballots in them in this manner. [The witness elevated his right hand to a level with his head.] They walked along and he went with them, watching them until, as each man dropped the ballot in, he took his eye off the men. At the last Congressional election I saw

Q. What was the effect, as you gathered it from the employees themselves, upon their mind?—A. Its effect was this: that while up to that date the operatives and employees, as a general rule in Worcester County, had been enthusiastic, had thronged our rooms day and evening almost, a great many of them then came and expressed doubts as to whether they would continue to do so; and only a third of the class they understood that this meeting had been held, and that was the feeling, that would not be a very strong one, and some were decidedly coolness at that time on the part of this class of men. I do not know that there

The son was notified to quit work, and did quit. The effect of this notice to leave upon men who had families dependent upon them, was to take away their freedom of action, and they were obliged to vote as their employers required, for they had no place to go with their families.

Its effect appears to have been decided upon the voters. Their timidity was described as follows:

They spoke to me about making arrangements about raising a flag, as I did not work for the company and could not get for the company. They were afraid to take an active part in it, but agreed to contribute toward defraying the expense. I had a list of some twenty-four names: of those who contributed—some a dollar and some two dollars—toward hiring the band and paying the expense of a French speaker. After Mr. Waters came with a notice of Mr. Thayer's and Mr. Mellen's meeting, this notice which followed from Mr. McArthur to my father, made a change. These men did not seem to dare to speak to me on the front street there; they would come around after dark and call me out to speak to me; they would pass me on the street without speaking, and they told me two or three different ones, that it was coming near winter, and they did not wish to lose their jobs; still, they wished to vote for Butler.

Q. What have you seen in regard to tickets when they have got to the polls?—A. I have seen Mr. Chase change their tickets. He generally stands at one side there where there is a small place to go to, and as they come along he always has the ballots there, and I have seen him change them, and have seen them get tickets from him and carry them in.

Q. The specific tickets you speak of, did they examine those?—A. I do not know whether they could or not. Pretty nearly all of those who work there are French, and I do not know whether they could examine them.

Q. Do you know whether those tickets were in envelopes or open?—A. I have seen Mr. Chase give tickets to them that were open.

Q. Did you see this occur in November, 1857?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Specify an instance and describe how this occurred, if you can.—A. As they passed along he was standing there on this side, and as they would come up to the polls he would stop them, I had them one of the tickets, and say, "Here, carry it in." They might have had an envelope or something of that kind. I have seen them have envelopes. I have seen that occur.

The ballot-boxes were open boxes and those in charge could see the form and appearance of the ballot voted, and they were easily distinguishable apart.

The result of this close supervision of the votes of the operatives by their employers, and the fears which prevailed among them lest they should be discharged, very naturally affected the result in the district in which they voted, and gave to the candidate favored by the employer a large number of votes they would not have received if perfect freedom of action had been allowed to the workmen.

Your committee examined a number of witnesses in regard to the management of and manner of voting at Webster, in Worcester County, by the employees of the Slater Manufacturing Company, where several hundred men are employed, a majority of whom were Irishmen, and the proof showed about the same state of facts as existed in Manchester.

The same was the case at the Douglass Axe Factory, where the agents of the company stood at the door of the election-house, watched every one of the employees who came in, passed him the Republican ticket and told him it would be to his interest to vote that ticket.

The Boston Elastic Fabric Company employs a large number of hands, most of whom were Democrats, but under the orders of their employer, Mr. McBirney, they were nearly all required to vote the Republican ticket in November, 1858. The foreman of the factory stood at the polls in Chelsea all day on election day between the door and the ballot-box, and required the men employed under him to vote the Republican ticket. Another of the employees was directed to tell them that this was their employer's wish, and they must govern themselves accordingly. This was done and the men very generally obeyed the orders given. One testified that he did not and was soon driven out of that employment.

The State of Massachusetts has a stringent registry law for the registration of voters. All naturalized citizens must produce their certificates of naturalization before the board of registration, and the name of the citizen can only go upon the list of voters after careful scrutiny. The law is a most wise and salutary one, but your committee are compelled to report that its provisions, in our case, were made the means of depriving several citizens born within the State of their right to vote, and one of them actually took out his naturalization papers. This difficulty occurred at Plymouth, and is thus described by Dr. S. M. Wainwright, a witness:

In the first place, we had a decision from the board of selectmen that those persons who were born of persons unnaturalized could not be citizens of the United States, and therefore, could not register as voters. This was made to operate very injuriously, because most of those

who had come of age were young men who were going to vote for General Butler. It so completely demoralized them that some of them did not have anything more to do with it. I endeavored to persuade them to hold on. The first intimation I had of it was this: A young man came to me and asked me if I did not suppose that a man born within the rolls of Plymouth Stock was a citizen of the United States. I said I had no doubt of it. He said that they had refused to register him, although he was born there, because his father had not been naturalized. I told him I supposed somebody was playing a joke upon him, and he replied that it was a serious matter. I went before the board of selectmen, and found that they had made that decision. I endeavored to argue the case with them, but they said the decision was final; that no one who was born of unnaturalized citizens could be a citizen unless himself made that decision. I endeavored to argue the case with them, but they said they would give it up and wouldn't have any more to do with it. One or two persisted in maintaining what they supposed to be their rights, and finally succeeded. I will state that this decision was made about ten days before the election. I think, (the first knowledge I had of it was at that time,) and that on the night before the election, (Monday evening,) at ten o'clock, (the polls being opened on Tuesday,) the decision was reversed. I understood. The polls were opened on Tuesday at a quarter of nine o'clock, and the law is, I think, that after the polls have opened no man shall be allowed to register. As it was my first experience in political affairs, I failed to take the names of those persons. I know of only two who were registered, and do not know of those who were not. I understood, that there were some ten or a dozen who were refused registration, but that I do not know positively anything about; that is merely hearsay with me. Another case that I do know of was that of a man who, notwithstanding that he had been born in the neighboring town, went and got naturalized. His name is Alexander Morrison, [Producing the naturalization paper of Morrison, which is appended to this testimony.] This is his naturalization paper. He was born in the neighboring town of Sandwich. One of the men was born within two rolls of Plymouth Stock.

Q. State the political of the selectmen in Plymouth?—A. Four of them were Republicans and one was a Democrat—that is an about element. The board was practically a unit in the last campaign. It was composed of five members.

The young man, Morrison, who was naturalized, was called and testified in substance as follows:

Question. Where do you live?—Answered at Plymouth.

Q. Where were you born?—A. Close by Sandwich.

Q. Are Plymouth and Sandwich in the same county?—A. No sir; Plymouth is in Plymouth county and Sandwich is in Barnstable county.

Q. State the circumstances under which you made application for registration, why you got naturalized, and whether that which is now shown is your naturalization paper?—A. I went to the selectmen on the same night that Mr. Carr went to them. That was Saturday night. Mr. Bradford, one of the selectmen, asked me why my name was not on the list, and if I had paid my taxes. I told him that I had paid them. He asked me if I was naturalized. I told him I was not; that I was born in this country. He then asked me if my father was naturalized, and I replied that my father was not. He said he didn't see how I could vote, for the reason that my father was not naturalized, but that he would carry the matter before the selectmen at the meeting on Saturday of next week. I went there shortly afterwards, when he told me that I should not vote because my father was not naturalized.

Q. Did you not get naturalized subsequently?—A. Yes, sir.

The naturalization paper given to this young man, born in the country, was produced, and is in these words:

#### UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

(Cut of Eagle)

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,

Plymouth County, ss:

To all people to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Know ye that at a superior court, begun and holden at Plymouth, within and for the county of Plymouth, on the fourth Monday of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight, Alexander Morrison, of Plymouth, in the county of Plymouth, and State of Massachusetts, born in the town of Sandwich, in the county of Barnstable, Massachusetts, having produced the evidence, and taken and subscribed the oath required by law, was admitted to become a citizen of the said United States, according to the acts of Congress in such cases made, provided, and extended.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court at Plymouth, in said county, this first day of November, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and seventy-eight.

[SEAL OF COURT.]

WM. H. WHITMAN, Clerk.

Your committee think that this action of the registry board of Plymouth was either a gross outrage upon the sons of foreigners, born within the coun-



try, or (taking the most charitable view of the case) the board showed lamentable ignorance of the law, of common sense, and their plain duty.

The campaign of 1878, in Massachusetts, seems to have been anomalous. For the first time, so far as your committee could learn, ministers of the Christian religion were openly invited to aid in the campaign by furnishing the names and post-office address of their church members, to the end that documents containing the dogmas of a political party might be sent to them, through the mails.

A circular in the following form was sent to every clergyman in the State where name and address could be found from the religious monthlies:

REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE OF MASSACHUSETTS,	
ADIN THAYER, Chairman.	} HEADQUARTERS, 376 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON, September 26, 1878.
S. J. STEBBINS, Treasurer.	
GEORGE C. CROCKER, Secretary.	

DEAR SIR: In order to enable us to distribute documents effectually, will you kindly furnish us immediately with a list of the male members of your church and parish, and with such other names as you may deem expedient. By so doing you will aid us in saving the honor of our commonwealth.

With esteem, yours,

GEORGE C. CROCKER, Secretary.

ADIN THAYER, Chairman.

There was a large number of responses, and documents were sent to the names and addresses furnished. Of the character of the documents furnished to the members of the churches, your committee did not learn; but it is fair to suppose that, as the following circular seeks to arouse the alarm and indignation of "Christian citizens," it was forwarded to church members:

REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE OF MASSACHUSETTS,	
ADIN THAYER, Chairman.	} HEADQUARTERS, 376 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON, September 19, 1878.
S. J. STEBBINS, Treasurer.	
GEORGE C. CROCKER, Secretary.	

DEAR SIR: A desperate attempt is being made, under a hypocritical pretense of State reform, to deliver Massachusetts over to the Repudiationists, Greenbackers and Communists.

This attempt should excite the alarm and indignation of every Christian citizen, and call for the active, earnest, and persistent opposition of every lover of the fair fame of Massachusetts.

It must be met defiantly and vigorously at once by private and public appeal to the intelligence, honor, and conscience of Massachusetts.

The State ticket nominated by the Republican party stands for public and private honesty and national good faith.

We earnestly invoke your active aid in securing its election, and thus save the "old commonwealth" from the control of unscrupulous and self-seeking demagogues.

In order of the Republican State Committee.

ADIN THAYER, Chairman.

GEORGE C. CROCKER, Secretary.

Your committee deems this system of electioneering dangerous and vicious, calculated as well to bring the Christian religion into the mire of politics as to arouse sectarian animosity among the people.

**END OF  
TITLE**